DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 227 523 CS 504 131

AUTHOR Cullen, Jack B.
TITLE Ann Eliza Young: A Nineteenth Century Champion of Women's Rights.
PUB DATE Feb 83
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Speech Communication Association (Albuquerque, NM, February 19-22, 1983).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Communication Research; Cultural Differences; Cultural Influences; *Feminism; *Religious Cultural Groups; *Rhetoric; *Rhetorical Criticism; *Social History; *Speech Skills; United States History
IDENTIFIERS Polygamy; *Young (Ann Eliza)

ABSTRACT

Concentrating on the efforts of such nineteenth century women's rights advocates as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, communication researchers have largely overlooked the contributions made to the cause by Ann Eliza Young. The nineteenth wife of Mormon leader Brigham Young, Ann Eliza Young left her husband and took to the speaker's platform in an effort to expose the Mormon practice of polygamy. Under contract to James Redpath's Lyceum Bureau, Mrs. Young traveled the United States speaking about her personal experiences in a polygamous society and about the practice itself. In 1875, she spoke to the United States Congress, and her speech is generally credited with bringing about the passage of the Poland Bill, which was designed to reorganize the judicial system in Utah and thus make it possible to bring polygamists to trial for the first time. The reasons for Mrs. Young's success as a speaker are many, including the unique nature of her subject matter, her striking personal appearance, her dynamic sincerity when speaking, her confidence, and her clear voice and appealing platform decorum. It was psychologically, however, that she had the greatest impact on her audiences. For she epitomized the down trodden, helpless woman, a victim of slavery who dared to break free and do battle against seemingly insurmountable odds. Ann Eliza Young was truly a champion of women's rights--one deserving of more notice. (FL)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED227523

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Ann Eliza Young: A Nineteenth Century Champion of Women's Rights

This paper is an account depicting the struggle of Ann Eliza Young, nineteenth wife of Brigham Young, to expose Mormon polygamy through taking the platform offered by James Redpath's lyceum circuit. This action eventually won her own freedom and the freedom of all the other polygamous wives in Utah. A short analysis of the reasons for her success as a speaker-lecturer is also included.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Jack B. Cullen
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Jack B. Cullen, Ph.D.
Professor, Department of Speech Communication
California State University, Los Angeles

CS504131

Recently, Elizabeth Mehren, a Los Angeles Times Staff writer, reviewed a book by Leslie Wheeler, entitled "Loving Warriors" about the life of Lucy Stone. Ms Mehren states that "Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton have been in the limelight. Unfortunately, there hasn't been that much made about Lucy Stone."[1]

An even greater lament might be offered for Ann Eliza Young as nothing has been "made" about her. Ms Mehren states in her review that Lucy Stone often met with hostile reactions when she took up public speaking for the women's suffrage cause. "They threw eggs at her, they threw prayer books, she had a lot of grit, a lot of determination," states Ms Wheeler.[2] When it comes to determination and grit Lucy Stone pales compared to the hazards faced by Mrs. Young when she embarked on her oratorical crusade against polygamy, the Mormon Church and its leader, Brigham Young.

On July 17, 1873 Ann Eliza burned her bridges and chaperoned by a Methodist preacher and his wife, left the house Brigham Young had built for her and took refuge at a gentile hotel, the Walker House.[3] It was there that she began her speaking career to expose the evils of polygamy in Utah.

It is an interesting historical fact that 1873, the year Ulysses S. Grant began his second term as President of the United States, was also the year in which many Americans became fascinated with life in a harem. This coincidence was brought about by two young women - one born in Wales who spent five years in a Siamese harem, the other in Illinois who spent four years in an American harem. The English woman was Mrs. Anna H. Leonowens, better known a century later as "Anna" in a story entitled "Anna and the King of Siam." Having spent five years as a tutor to the sixty-seven children of King Mongut of Siam she was encouraged by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and

Harriet Beecher Stowe, two of her friends, to reveal details of the Siamese harem of 9,000 wives. This she did in her book, "The Romance of the Harem." This book fascinated the American public in seraglio living since many Americans knew that in the territory of Utah another "harem" existed and that fellow Americans were openly practicing a similar polygamy.[4] Although Mrs. Anna H. Leonowen's book stirred a spark of interest concerning polygamy in America, what really fanned the spark into a blaze was the dramatic action of an "attractive and ailing young lady in Utah."[5] Ann Eliza not only deserted her husband Brigham Young, but sued him for divorce. Eventually, she succeeded in putting him in jail and "the repercussion rocked his church to its very foundations."[6]

In 1873 another concomitant event came about. Major James Burton Pond became associated with the Salt Lake City Tribune; he was to later become Ann Eliza's manager. About this same time Brigham Young proclaimed that his people could open their homes to gentiles and receive them as boarders. It happened that a Methodist minister, the Reverend C.C. Stratton and his wife, obtained board with Ann Eliza, Brigham Young's last and nineteenth wife. It was through the efforts of Reverend and Mrs. Stratton that Ann Eliza apostatized from the Mormon Church.[7]

Ann Eliza was born in Mormonism in Nauvoo, Illinois, September 13, 1844. She was raised by her mother, one of the early converts of Joseph Smith before migrating to Utah. Ann Eliza was an intelligent woman but her whole life was bound by Mormonism, having never attended any other church and having never read any other literature than that approved by the Mormon faith.[8]

Migrating to Utah at the age of four, Ann Eliza was baptized into the Mormon church at the age of eight. In her nineteenth year she was married

with a man named Dee. The results of this union were two boys and much sorrow. Upon the dissolution of this marriage, she became, at the age of 24, the nineteenth wife of Brigham Young.[9] After a few years she became more and more dissatisfied with Brigham Young and Mormonism and on July 17, 1873 fled from him and the Mormon Church.[10]

Ann Eliza later wrote, "My plans were quickly laid, and with the assistance of friends whom I had found in this hour of trouble, were carried into instant execution, before they could be discovered by Mormon spies."[11]

Ann Eliza indeed did have the support of several newly found friends consisting of the previously mentioned clergyman, a young lawyer from the Pacific Coast, a retired general (Brigadier General George Maxwell), a U.S. Marshal, a fire eating anti-Mormon newspaper reporter and several other gentile boarders.[12]

At last, aided by these friends "she had made her decision . . . to do what no other wife of Brigham Young had yet done - walk out on him without his consent or knowledge."[13] That this action was indeed a bold and hazardous decision is quite evident when one considers the power of the Mormon Church and the accompanying power of its leader Brigham Young.

Utah became a territory in the fall of 1850. Brigham Young was appointed Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. When one adds these offices to his position as the president of the Mormon Church it is easy to see that he possessed three of the most powerful positions in the territory, which explains the tremendous power that he held in Utah during these times.[14] In addition, practically all important government positions, including the territorial judges, marshals and legislators were either appointed by President Young or elected from members of the Mormon Church.

When discussing the dangers of Ann Eliza's action we must also consider Brigham Young and the Mormon Church's attitude toward women in general.

Brigham's attitude toward the status of women was expressed early in the history of the Utah Territory. On February 9, 1862 he made it clear that this Mormon domaine should be an unqualified patriarchy. However, he stated that women "were respected more in Utah than in any other place on earth." He also believed that "some women wanted too much freedom; some even wanted to lead their husbands but he felt that they should never be permitted to do so." He based his position on the Bible saying that "you cannot read in the Bible that women take the lead - that the responsibility is upon the women, for it is not so."[15]

Along with his early announced position in regard to the status of women, Brigham Young also announced his "Revelation on Celestial Marriage" just two years after Utah became a territory. Even though Joseph Smith supported plural marriage ten years earlier, Smith decided not to enforce the practice at that time in Nauvoo, Illinois. Evidently, as he stated to a few followers, it was "too soon for the Lord to reveal Himself upon this subject."[16] Brigham Young, as the governor of the Utah territory populated by mostly Mormons, and as the head of the church, evidently felt that the time was ripe to proclaim such a "revelation." For the most part he seemed to be correct in estimating the acceptance of plural marriage by his followers. The 100,000 Mormon Saints of Utah territory defended their God given polygamy with a passion. They had been ordered to practice it by the Lord, they said. "The controversy is with God not us," remarked Eliza Roxey Snow, who had been a wife of Joseph Smith and who was then "platonically" wedded to Brigham Young.[17] There were, in all fairness, a few disgruntled

Mormon women who objected to the practice of polygamy but they were dealt with in a summary manner by the head of the church. In a sermon delivered on September 21, 1856, Brigham Young offered these women a proposition: he would give them two weeks to decide whether they wanted to go away or to stay in Utah, stop their "whining and grumbling and live their religion". He would not hinder their going, nor would he have them stay if they persisted in their "whining".[18] Perhaps they should have accepted his offer as later it became much more difficult to leave Utah and the church. In fact, people died attempting to leave the faith and the Territory of Utah.

For whatever the reasons pluralistic marriages continued relatively unchallenged in the Utah Territory for the next twenty years. However, the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 marked a turning point in Utah history.

The coming of the railroad was the event that admitted a flood of gentiles into the territory. Wayne Stout maintained that: "These strange members of a 'foreign' religion just could not adjust to conditions which they alleged was a union of church and state in the territory." This was a basic cause for most of the conflicts between the gentiles and the Mormons during the twenty-six years from 1870-1896.[19] Another bone of contention was, of course, the practice of polygamy by some of the leading Mormons. By 1870 polygamy was at its height in Utah. To the gentile, the practice or polygamy "stamped the Mormon as lower than the Mohammedan." Therefore the Mormon had to be Christianized and civilized before equality and statehood could be granted to these "disillusioned" people.[20] The bitterness of the polygamy controversy in the Utah Territory carried over to all states and is emphasized by the historian Wayne Stout when he dramatically states: "The

shocking events in Utah between 1870 and 1896 created more heat and rancor than had been exploded in all the territories combined prior to their admission into the Union. Utah was the Irish Home Rule Bill (1886) and the dismissal of Bismark (1870), all combined."[21]

President Grant in his annual message to Congress on December 2, 1873 stated his opposition to conditions existing in Utah in strong terms. "Affairs in Utah require your early and special attention. The Supreme Court in the Englebrecht case decided that the U.S. Marshal of that territory could not lawfully summon juries for the (United States) district courts and these courts hold that the territorial marshal cannot lawfully perform that duty because he is elected by the Legislative Assembly and not appointed as provided for in the act organizing the territory. All proceedings at law are practically abolished by these decisions and there have been but few or no jury trials in the district courts of that territory. . . Property is left without protection by the courts, and crimes go unpunished. To prevent anarchy there, it is absolutely necessary that Congress provide the court with some mode of obtaining juries and I recommend legislation to that end, and also the probate courts of the territory, now assuming to . . . try criminal cases, and land titles be denied all jurisdiction not possessed by courts of that description."[22]

It was in this political-social milieu that Ann Eliza Young found herself ensconced in the Walker House surrounded and encouraged by her friends and under the protection of the federal officials of the territory - Governor Woods and Chief Justice McKean.

One evening it was arranged that Ann Eliza should tell her experiences to the guests of the hotel. Major Pond was one of those instrumental in

making the arrangements. He later stated that: "She did give her story - the most interesting and thrilling story that anybody ever heard."[23] The speech was telegraphed to the Associated Press and the next day Ann Eliza received telegrams from theatrical managers and showmen from all parts of the country. One came from P.T. Barnum and another telegram was from James Redpath, the owner of the Lyceum Bureau in Boston asking her to go on the lecture circuit.

The apostasy of Ann Eliza coincided with the national vogue of the lecture course, which developed from the founding of James Redpath's Lyceum Bureau. To most of the American people of these times, abstaining from the theatre on moral grounds, the spectacle of an attractive woman speaking from a stage would have audience appeal; but Redpath was shrewd enough to pick his stars primarily on performance ability and not on appearance alone.[24]

James Redpath chose wisely when he offered Ann Eliza a contract as she, in turn, offered a pleasant appearance, a popular and unique cause, and effective oratorical skills.

In addition, the gentiles of Utah saw an opportunity to have their appeals for reforms in the government of the Utah territory, limiting the power of the Mormon church, to be heard through the speaking of Ann Eliza Young. James Burton Pond makes this clear in his statement that "our people decided that if Ann Eliza could tell that story in Washington, we could get some attention and legislation. I happened to be available and went to Washington with her."[25] Major Pond told Ann Eliza that if she would go on a lecture tour, he would manage it. She accepted his offer and Pond became her manager.

Although she was to give her first lecture in Washington D.C. there was a great demand to hear her in Laramie and Denver en route. Mr. Pond

evidently thought that these appearances were a good idea for two reasons. First, they would serve as "warm-ups" for Ann Eliza to develop her platform confidence, and secondly, they would give him some indication as to the size and types of audiences she might attract.

James Pond describes these first two lecture attempts by Mrs. Young as follows: "I got the school-room in Laramie, charged $1.50 a seat and sold 400 tickets . . . Next in Denver, she spoke in the New Baptist Church, the largest auditorium in the city at that time."[26] Denver was to be the first major test of Ann Eliza's speaking skills in a relatively large city with a varied cultural and ethnic population. That she was successful in attracting an audience is evident, since she was asked to present a second lecture the following night and filled the auditorium both times. She seemed also to be successful in emotionally moving the audience if Irving Wallace is to be believed in his description of that speaking event: "Suddenly the applause broke out, caught up, swelled. Scores of men and women rushed to the stage to congratulate Ann Eliza, take her hand, touch her."[27] Ann Eliza's success seemed assured. Most of the press praised her. Even the critical Central City Daily Register, which had previously predicted disaster, printed a reluctant congratulation.[28]

In this early phase of her speaking career Mrs. Young had two prepared lectures in her repertoire: one dealing with her "Life in Mormon Bondage" being highly personal; the second lecture concerning the general practice of polygamy in Utah was entitled "Polygamy As It Is." The latter lecture, being less personal than the first, was considerably more lurid. She traced the plural wife doctrine from Joseph Smith's revelation in 1843 to Brigham's public proclamation of it in 1852.

Encouraged by her surprising and overwhelming success in Denver, Pond booked Ann Eliza in several more cities throughout the mid-west including Topeka and St. Louis where she continued to receive tremendous ovations. Working their way East, Ann Eliza Young and James Pond, armed with letters of introduction to Speaker James G. Blaine, President Grant and members of Congress, reached Washington D.C., entered the Speaker's chambers and presented her card to Speaker Blaine. What transpired is described by Major Pond: "He (Blaine) was in the Speaker's chair. He came out and shook hands with her. . . In a few minutes somebody else came into the Speaker's room and soon that room was packed with members of Congress. She held an audience for two hours. Everybody wanted to see and hear her."[29] Two days later she told her story to the whole Congress. "Forty-eight hours later the Poland Bill for the relief of the oppressed in Utah was a law."[30] Whether or not Ann Eliza Young's speech to Congress was the catalyst for the passage of this bill can not accurately be determined but there are those who make this claim.

The Poland Bill, sponsored by Representative Luke P. Poland of Vermont made its appearance on January 5, 1874 almost a year previous to Mrs. Young's speech to Congress.[31] Upon the passage of the Poland Act, the United States Marshal appointed by the President, became the executive officer of the United States District courts (instead of the territorial marshal elected by the territorial legislature) and the United States district attorney became the prosecuting officer of those courts in all cases arising under the laws of the territory, thereby the territorial trial and jury system was changed. Previously the territorial probate courts were given criminal and civil jurisdiction with territorial marshals and prosecuting attorneys, elected by the territorial legislature, acting as the probate courts' executive and

prosecuting officers. The jurors were chosen by the territorial marshals from a list of land holders (only Mormons could be land holders).[32] In addition, no gentile sat as a member of the territorial Legislative Assembly during the five sessions of the sixties (1860's) and the early seventies. The all Mormon legislatures were also in constant conflict with federal governors and judges sent from Washington. Thus, very little legislation was accomplished under such conditions. These circumstances coupled with the existing chaos in the courts made it impossible to bring polygamists to justice, causing the Morrill Act which prohibited polygamy to become unenforceable.[33] While the Poland Law strengthened the position of anti-polygamists like Judge McKean, it still had little impact on the practice of polygamy in Utah. Perhaps this once again illustrates that morality is difficult to legislate. The Poland Law's ineffectiveness in significantly reducing the practice of polygamy in Utah does not detract one iota from the effectiveness of Ann Eliza Young's speaking.

As stated previously, her speaking began in December of 1873 at the Walker House in Salt Lake City. By the first of January, 1875, she had lectured two hundred and twenty-three times - from Portland, Maine to San Francisco, California, from Washington to St. Paul, Minnesota. She had lectured in every Northern state and before audiences of every level of culture. She was asked back to lecture again as often as three times in the same month.[34] These return engagements seem to negate some of her critics' claims that Mrs. Young's principle drawing power was "sensationalism." People only came to see an American "harem girl." "In an aseptic age, when curiosity about matters sexual was forbidden, Ann Eliza offered an irresistible bait. She could discuss human passion with piety, because the subjects of her

lectures were polygamy and religion . . . Ann Eliza's daring entertainment was permissable and an event."[35] However, it appears that even though she possibly was engaged as a "sensation", she was recalled on her merit as a speaker. Irving Wallace advances this concept when he states: "Overnight, it seemed, she became a wonder, to last not nine days or nine months but nine years. Because of Ann Eliza Young . . . the emerging field of professional lecturing would have its first sensational box office star, at last."[36]

What factors contributed to Ann Eliza's success as a lecturer besides the uniqueness of her subject matter? Certainly one of these contributing factors was her ethos, both her physical and psychological impact on the audience. The fact that she was an attractive young woman, twenty-nine years of age, tall and striking in appearance, did nothing to detract from her overall effect on her listeners. Her dark brown hair, deep blue eyes, broad fine nose contrasted with her pale complexion. Her face was "at once sweet and sad, yet, disconcertingly, a flashing trick of the eyes and a firm chin gave evidences of a hidden inner strength."[37] It was psychologically, however, wherein Ann Eliza's ethos had its greatest impact. She epitomized the downtrodden, helpless woman, victim of a form of slavery beyond her control, who dared to break free of her chains and do battle against seemingly insurmountable odds. It was this impact that influenced the Mt. Morris, New York's Union and Constitution to state in its article on Mrs. Young's speaking, January 28, 1875, that: "With heart of strength, will of iron and tongue of fire, she travelled East and found her power of thought increasing by use, and her words eloquent from the flame of truth, to hurl woman's Mormon wrong back to its seething blackness."[38] Likewise the

Laramie Independent stated: "The struggle by which Mrs. Young gained her freedom was depicted with real power and was of dramatic interest."[39] Finally, the Boston Daily Globe on January 29, 1875 stated "Mrs. Young will succeed in her mission . . . The "Twin Barbarism" must disappear and it is fitting that it should fall by the hands of a woman."[40]

In addition to her appearance and psychological impact wielded by Ann Eliza one might mention other attributes she possessed which would explain her success as a lecturer. Those who heard her reported that she seemed to exude a dynamic sincerity, confidence and enthusiasm exhibited by a pleasant, clear voice and an acceptable and appealing platform decorum. All of these oratorical assets were combined with an effective, vivid use of language liberally sprinkled with interesting metaphors. Evidences of these attributes are seen in the following excerpts from press releases. The Salt Lake Daily Tribune stated: "From the first word that she uttered until the last, the interest of the audience seemed riveted by her earnest pleading narrative of the wrongs that had been inflicted upon her by Mormonism. There was a frankness in her manner and utterance that won the entire sympathy and assent of her hearers . . . "[41] The same newspaper, several days later, repeated a comment made in the Leavenworth Commercial concerning Ann Eliza's speech in that Kansas town: "She . . . kept her audience constantly enchained by the magic power of her really magnetic voice, the strange relation of her narrative, and the plain earnestness with which every sentence was stamped (as) a living truth."[42] The Kansas Tribune stated that "she holds her audience spell-bound . . . There has seldom been a greater treat than was enjoyed by the audience."[43]

[redacted] Mrs. Young delivered her lectures from a manuscript which was decried by the Salt Lake Daily Tribune when it lamented, "reading from a manuscript is a bad fault, we wish her to commit her lectures to memory and address her audiences, looking them square in the eyes, and not concealing one-half of her from behind a reading desk." Yet, later the same paper stated, "the lecture was read from a manuscript, . . . she made no attempt at oratory, but spoke with sufficient feeling to make a deep and lasting impression . . . every word and sentence was as distinctly heard as uttered and sunk deep into the hearts of the auditors."[44]

Regardless of her method of preparation and presentation, Ann Eliza's message came across with great impact, if these reports of her contemporaries are believable. One of the major reasons for this message impact was her use of forceful, clear and figurative language as illustrated in the following passages: "Legislators, in doubt or in dread, give polygamy the benefit of their doubts or their fears, and again the question is laid over for a season. Meanwhile anxious eyes are longing, and burdened hearts are breaking, and children are swarming forth with the blight upon their birth, and a brand upon their brow, and all the country blesses itself, saying, 'We have done no wrong. Let no one object, the women are free to accept this relation or reject it—to live in it or leave it.' They are not free. Their souls are fettered."

"I had encouragement to break away from my faith and its connections, which few others can have. Nevertheless the step required great fortitude, and was attended with many misgivings. How would I be received into society? would ladies, especially, recognize one who had been a polygamous wife? How far would the authorities of the Church dare to pursue me? That they would

try to blacken my character I well knew. Would they go farther and attempt personal violence? How would my old friends and all my blood relations regard my step and me?"

"These and many similar questions tortured and perplexed me, before my resolution was made. Imagine, then, the hopelessness of one less favorably situated. I cannot close without expressing my gratitude to the public for the considerate courtesy and kindness with which I have been met since taking this step. And I should not fully express my feelings did I fail to acknowledge the constancy of the Heavenly Father's care in guarding my untried steps. Let me assure one and all that, whatever fortune the future may have in store for me, I shall never regret the step which brought me freedom of action and conscience."[45]

For whatever reasons, Ann Eliza Young's crusading lectures were a success whether measured by the number of people reached, the impact they had upon these audiences, or the lectures' eventual success in accomplishing her goals. She succeeded in arousing the interests and the ire of many Americans concerning the practice of polygamy in the Utah Territory which began the process leading to the eventual downfall of this barbaric institution. Ann Eliza also won her own freedom and enjoyed the satisfaction of humbling her "master", Brigham Young. The Mt. Morris, New York's Union and Constitution summarized these victories thusly: ~~Union and Constitution, Mt. Morris, N.Y., January 26, 1854~~. "She returned to Utah and compelled Brigham Young, under oath, to assert that he had only one wife, his first marriage. That was the most wonderful of all, most glorious to her bravery, her greatest conquest . . . to compel him, in his own citadel, in the midst of his own minions . . . there, in a candid way, assert that he had but one wife, is the

greatest victory achieved over Utah's immorality . . . every woman of sound principle, ought to acknowledge the right and the bravery of Ann Eliza Young."[46] She truly was a nineteenth century champion of women's rights.

Notes

[1] Elizabeth Mehren, Los Angeles Times, July 7, 1981.

[2] Mehren, p. 11.

[3] Woodward, Helen Beal, "The Bold Women," New York: Farrar, Strauss and Young, 1953, p. 326.

[4] Irving Wallace, "The Twenty-Seventh Wife," New York, Simon and Schuster, 1961, p. 11.

[5] Wallace, p. 12.

[6] Wallace, p. 15.

[7] James Burton Pond, "Memories of the Lyceum," Modern Eloquence, Vol. 6, Philadelphia: John D. Morris and Company, n.d., pp. 893-895.

[8] Pond, p. 893.

[9] Robert Joseph Dwyer, "The Gentile Comes to Utah," Western Epics, Salt Lake City, n.p.

[10] Circular of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Boston, 1865-76.

[11] Wallace, p. 16.

[12] Dwyer, n.p.

[13] Wallace, pp. 16-17.

[14] Halbert Greaves, "Persuasion in a Theocracy: Utah - 1846 to 1869." Landmarks in Western Oratory, David H. Grover, ed., University of Wyoming Publications, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 1-10, August 7, 1968.

[15] Greaves, p. 85.

[16] Ann Eliza Young, Wife No. 19, New York: Arno Press, 1972, p. 65.

[17] Wallace, p. 13.

[18] Greaves, p. 85.

[19] Wayne Stout, History of Utah, Vol. 1, 1870-1896, Salt Lake City: n.p., 1967, p. 3.

[20] Stout, p. 3.

[21] Stout, p. 1.

[22] Stout, pp. 42-43.

[23] Pond, p. 894.

[24] Pond, p. 894.

[25] Pond, p. 894.

[26] Pond, p. 895.

[27] Wallace, p. 289.

[28] Wallace, p. 290.

[29] Pond, p. 895.

[30] Pond, p. 895.

[31] Stout, p. 4.

[32] R.N. Baskin, "Reminiscences of Early Utah," Copyright 1914, p. 87.

[33] Stout, p. 8.

[34] Circular of the Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Season of 1875-76.

[35] Irving Wallace, op. cit., p. 286.

[36] Wallace, pp. 15-16.

[37] Wallace, p. 17.

[38] Union and Constitution, Mt. Morris, N. Y., January 28, 1875, p. 11.

[39] Salt Lake Daily Tribune, December 6, 1873, p. 9.

[40] Boston Daily Globe, January 29, 1875, p. 14.

[41] Salt Lake Daily Tribune, December 6, 1873, p. 9.

[42] Salt Lake Daily Tribune, December 31, 1873, p. 3.

[43] Wallace, p. 303.

[44] Salt Lake Daily Tribune, December 14, 1873, p. 21.

[45] Wallace, p. 292.

[46] Union and Constitution, Mt. Morris, N. Y., January 28, 1875, p. 12.